1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Acknowledgments

The fieldwork on which this book is based has been carried out in two periods: one in 1956 and 1957 under the auspices of the Ford Foundation Area Fellowship Program, and again in the summers of 1964 and 1965 with financial help from the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the National Science Foundation of Washington, D.C. It is because of the generosity of these agencies that I have been able to develop and continue my understanding of the Kanuri people and their complex culture. Altogether I have spent over twenty-six months among the Kanuri and a number of years reading historical documents dealing with their pre-colonial kingdom in the Chad basin.

Over the years I have become indebted to a host of people who have contributed to my expanding knowledge of Bornu so that it would be impossible to give a complete list of those whose share in this book is a significant one. Professor C. W. M. Hart first encouraged and guided my work, and his approach to anthropology has colored and given direction to my own. In Nigeria, Sir Kashim Ibrahim, G.C.O.N., K.C.M.G., C.B.E., LL.B., Governor of Northern Nigeria, has through the years helped to make my visits to Bornu fruitful and intellectually exciting. The Bornu Native Authority and the Bornu Provincial Government have extended the warmest hospitality and courtesy to myself and my wife and encouraged us in our work. Their forbearance with my research and their constant willingness to cooperate has helped to make Bornu into what some of them have called "my second home." I cannot claim to know everything about Kanuri society and culture; what I have learned is due not only to the kindness of Bornu officials but to the friendship of hundreds of Kanuri who have never failed to answer my unending questions and sometimes naïve curiosity with patient explanation. Dr. and Mrs. Abraham Rosman who were also out in Bornu in 1957 carrying out field research gave invaluable aid as colleagues interested in many of the same problems. At closer range, both in Bornu during my first field trip, and later after we returned to North America in 1957, my wife has served as a constant critic and discussant of almost every fact and interpretation put forward in this book and in my other publications on Bornu. In a very real way I owe her a debt as my collaborator and fellow researcher. Finally I am indebted to Professor John Middleton and David Spain who have read and made many helpful comments on an earlier draft of this book.

R. C.

Evanston, Illinois
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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

there. That it did not turn out to be "typical" in all respects is not surprising, given the relatively large numbers of people there are in Bornu and the range of variation that such a large population can quite normally exhibit.

For the first week or so in Magumeri, the Bornu Native Authority appointed a young man who was to serve as our interpreter and guide—telling the people our purpose in coming to live in their village and helping us to get settled into our new surroundings. At first the local Magumeri officials found it all hard to believe, and kept asking why we wanted to live right in the village, rather than reopening an old, deserted, and I suspected snake-infested and ramshackle government rest house about a mile away. However, they politely accepted our firm desire to live in the village even if they disagreed with the idea. Soon I decided to live at the end of the plaza facing the district chief's compound, across the open 200 yards of sand which stretched between his house and mine. The interpreter helped with all these arrangements, and in the ten days he was with us I took down a rough outline of the entire culture using him as an informant. As an interpreter, he accompanied me to the compound of the village area head and we asked if I could take down his genealogy and that of some of his neighbors in order that people might become acquainted with the kinds of questions I would be asking later on. At the same time, my wife began compiling a short dictionary of Kanuri nouns, verbs, and useful phrases, using our interpreter as her major source.

For the next four months, we struggled to learn the language and to get our house built—it kept falling down all the time we lived in it—and to begin making a few friends. The first ten days had been so rich and fruitful that what came afterwards seemed all the harder to accept. Without the language, very little could be accomplished; we could watch but not ask questions about what it all meant. The local school teacher who knew very little English offered his help. He would teach us Kanuri, he said, help us to understand the customs of the people, if we would help him to learn English. And slowly this exchange blossomed into a close friendship that has lasted through the years. Slowly, too, little phrases of Kanuri conversation jumped out at us as understandable items from a background of unintelligible conversation. In about four months my wife and I could converse haltingly with one another, and in six months we were speaking—with an accent, with bad grammar, and a limited vocabulary—but we were speaking nonetheless.

During this first six months, several significant things happened that affected the course of our work. First, the district head who mistrusted us when we had arrived began to relax when nothing dire seemed to follow from our presence on his doorstep. Eventually he and I became friends and his acceptance of our presence in Bornu, and Magumeri in particular, along with his conviction that I was in fact studying the customs of his people, helped and many others followed his lead. Secondly, I became very ill with hepatitis, and had to leave Magumeri for two months. No one (we were told later) believed for a minute that we would ever return after such a dreadful illness—but we did. And our return was a triumphant one. For several days visitors poured in to tell us what had been happening during my illness, and what was going to happen, and so on. We had come home, we said, and Magumeri made us feel that it was indeed a homecoming.

Slowly but surely life settled into a pattern and my wife and I became identifiable members of the community and known throughout the entire emirate as "the Europeans of Magumeri."

Acknowledgments

122 The field research on which the present study is based was financed by a Foreign Area Training Fellowship granted by the Ford Foundation. The author wishes to express his gratitude to the Ford Foundation for enabling him to carry out the research, though he alone bears responsibility for the conclusions reached in this study.

A number of people at Yale University assisted the author at various stages of the research. Professor Edward M. Bruner helped in formulating the problem which served to orient the study. Professor George Peter Murdock initially acted as adviser for the dissertation. This role was later assumed by Professor Sidney W. Mintz, under whom the dissertation was completed. Professor John V. Murra read the completed manuscript. To all of these people the author expresses his thanks.

114 To the Kanuri people of Bornu Province the author owes a special debt of gratitude. Yerima Mustapha, the District Head of Geidam District, showed remarkable understanding of the author's purposes and assisted him in innumerable ways. To his many informants, and to the people of Geidam, the author expresses his thanks.

Dr. Bernice Rosman, the author's wife, shared in every step of the research, from the rigors of the field to the rigors of the dissertation. The author's debt is beyond expression.

128 Mrs. Evelyn Middleton, who typed the manuscript, has aided greatly in bringing it to its final form.

124 the part of the investigator with respect to the variable of acculturation can have played little or no part in obtaining the present results, since the various groups and categories which were used in the study themselves differ in the areas of culture in which they are acculturated. There is no simple division into acculturated and unacculturated groups.

2. Measures of Acculturation.

121 114 Much of the year spent in the field in the town of Geidam was devoted to work in two problem areas: delineation of community social structure, which was described above, and working out measures of acculturation. In the final three months spent in Geidam the actual data on which the present study is based [122] were collected. Until that time it was necessary to acquire a general understanding of Kanuri culture, to learn the language, and to see the areas in which Kanuri culture was most affected by external influences.

125 124 Data on acculturation were acquired through a questionnaire-interview, administered in Kanuri to forty-four informants. The questionnaire comprises seventy-five parts, many of these long and complex questions requiring discursive answers. It took approximately two hours to interview each informant.

125 177 Thirty of the seventy-five questions were concerned with measures of acculturation. These are presented in Table XIV. It can be seen that the measures of acculturation refer to a wide variety of behavioral areas. These include: language; posses-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 246]

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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Preface

Field work for this study was carried out in Bornu Province,
122 Nigeria, from January 1956 to August 1957. The author is grateful to the Ford Foundation Area Training Program under whose financial support the field work was carried out. Through a grant from the Knapp Fellowship Fund of the University of Wisconsin, the writer was allowed an unencumbered year following the field work in which to analyse and write up the material.

114 Although the author takes full responsibility for the following pages, they could not have reached their present form without the generous help of a number of people. Prof. C. W. M. Hart helped plan and guide the field work as well as reading and advising on earlier drafts of the present study. His intellectual stimulus has served as a major impetus in the development of the writer's approach to the study of society. Professors D. A. Baerreis and M. L. Barnett have given encouragement and advice throughout the course of the project and helped the writer in innumerable ways both administratively and in matters of scholarship.

114 122 Periodic conversations in the field with Mr. and Mrs. A. Rosman, graduate students at Yale University, helped clarify many points about the Kanuri as well as indicating areas of uncertainty and ignorance which required further work. To Mallam Abdullah Yajuwa of the Bornu Department of Agriculture I owe a sincere debt of gratitude for his interest in the project and his well run surveys. His patience and forbearance with the insatiable curiosity of an anthropologist deserve special mention. The Wazirí, the Yerima and the Digma of Bornu also deserve special acknowledgement as men of affairs who spared us their

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valuable time and used their influence on our behalf. Many others deserve some mention for the generous contributions they made not only to our work but to our well being. Amont these were the Provincial Education Officer, Mr. H. O. H. Vernon-Jackson, Mr. Tony May, of the United Africa Company, Mallam Alhaji Damboa, headmaster of the Kagumeri Junior Primary School and his colleagues, Lawan Mina, the Village Head of Kagumeri, the Bornu Provincial Government for their cooperation in putting the public records of the Emirate at our disposal, and many others whose friendships and cooperation made our stay in Bornu not just the operationalizing of a research project, but a rich personal experience.

114 My wife has contributed so much in the form of criticism, encouragement, editing, and information, both in the field and during the write-up, that there is no specific help for which she can be acknowledged, for she shared it all.

634 Like other district capitals,
[621] Nagumeri's highest ranking person is the District Head. As a district
[368] capital it also contains a Junior Primary School, a court house, an infrequently used District Council House, and a district office in which the tax records are kept by a Chief Scribe. These features are shown in the diagram below.

361 Diagram Map of Nagumeri Village
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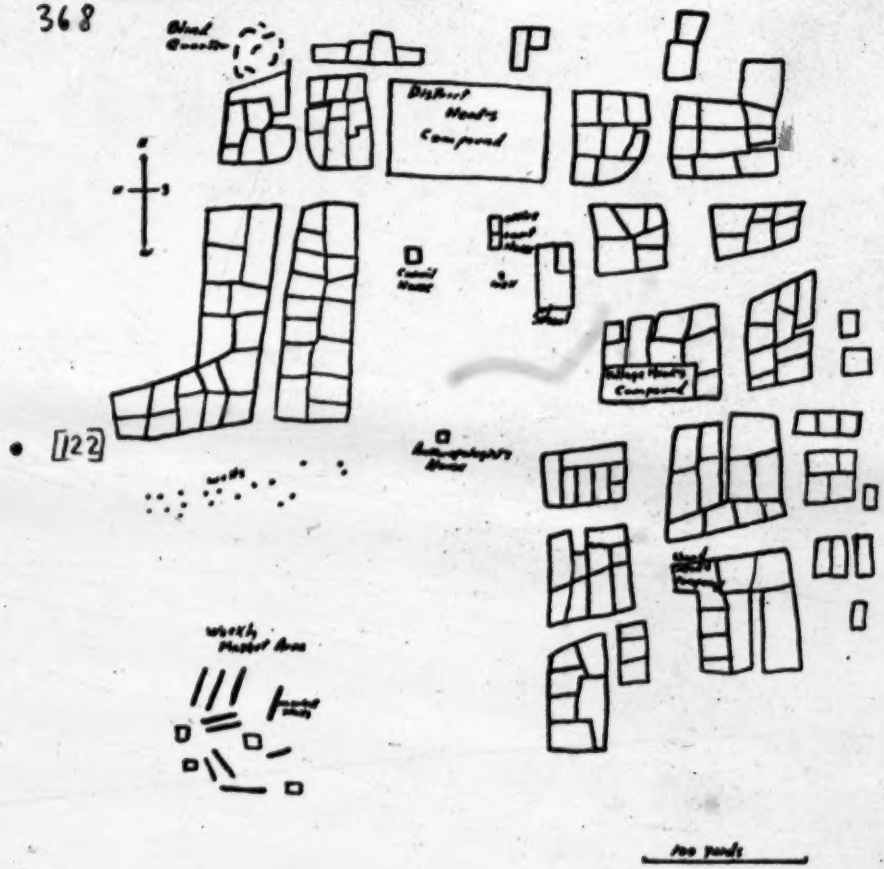

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

[P. 21]

The Success that Failed: An Experiment in Culture Change in Africa

By RONALD COHEN*

The economic and political development going on at this moment in the non-European areas of the globe is one of the truly monumental social revolutions in man's history, ranking in importance with both the neolithic and the urban 'revolutions' of the past. By the end of the present century, the standards of living of about two-thirds of the world's population will very likely have risen between five and ten times present level. The educational, political, religious, and social changes which will in all probability accompany this revolution are almost staggering to the imagination. However, that it is taking place is a simple fact. 121

At the core of this development are the changes and innovations in basic economic activities in the every day lives of people the world over, for these hum-drum practices are the foundation stones upon which higher living standards are built. Central planning, financial and technical assistance, and political policies, all make crucial contributions to economic development. However the full measure of cultural changes, and in this case technological innovation, requires the painstaking description and analysis which is the hallmark of anthropological research techniques. Like other social sciences, anthropology uses the data of man's social life for its empirical basis. But unlike other social scientists, the anthropologist observes the data of the human experience through his intimate face-to-face contact with the people from day to day throughout his field

* The field work for this paper was carried out between January, 1956, and August, 1957, with the financial assistance of the Ford Foundation Area Training Fellowship Programme. The writer expresses his appreciation to Professor J.W. VanStone for helpful comments and suggestions, and to Professor C.W.M. Hart under whose guidance field research among the Kanuri was planned and carried out.

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